

THE DEATH OF SLAVERY IS THE LIFE OF THE NATION.

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S P E E C H

OF

HON. HENRY WILSON

(OF MASSACHUSETTS,)

IN THE SENATE, MARCH 28, 1864.

ON THE

*Proposed Amendment to the Constitution Prohibiting Slavery within the  
United States.*

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JOHN H. HENRY

Author of

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### THE DEATH OF SLAVERY IS THE LIFE OF THE NATION.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. PRESIDENT: "Our country," said that illustrious statesman—John Quincy Adams—"began its existence by the universal emancipation of man from the thralldom of man." Amidst the darkling storms of revolution it proclaimed as its living faith the sublime creed of human equality. From out the rolling clouds of battle the new Republic, as it took its position in the family of nations, proclaimed in the ear of all humanity that the poor, the humble, the sons of toil, whose hands were hardened by honest labor, whose limbs were chilled by the blasts of winter, whose cheeks were scorched by the suns of summer, were the peers, the equals, before the law, of kings and princes and nobles, of the most favored of the sons of men. When its splendid edifice of constitutional government rose in grandeur and beauty upon the vision of mankind, the champions of popular rights in the Old World, and the people, in whose hearts still lingered the dimly-remembered accents of liberty, as they turned their gaze hitherward, hailed and welcomed the advent of the new-born Republic. In after years, amid the throes of revolutions, they turned ever to the rising Republic beyond the seas for the inspiration of faith and hope in the final triumph of struggling humanity. And the republics of the New World, as they emerged from colonial dependence, through the fire and blood of revolutions, to national life, turned toward united America as the great exemplar whose steady lights would illumine their darkened pathway to national unity and power, and liberty regulated by law.

We of America have been accustomed, Mr. President, to contemplate with something of gratified and patriotic pride the strength of our democratic institutions and the stability of our republican Government. As we have watched the fraternal strifes, the bloody and desolating wars of factions that, in the republics of the New World, have followed each other like the fleeting shadows of summer clouds, as we have watched, too, the revolutionary throes and struggles, the falling and rising thrones and dynasties of the Old World, we have often turned fondly and proudly to our own country in the undoubting faith that the Republic was immortal; that, sustained by the vital and animating patriotism of a Christian people, it was her instinct with the freshness and bloom of youth and the vigor of matured manhood. Gazing with beaming eye and throbbing heart upon the grandeur and beauty of this splendid edifice of constitutional government in America, we came to believe that it was as imperishable as the memory of its illustrious builders.

But the Republic of the United States, the land of so much of affection, of pride and of hope, now presents to the startled and astonished gaze of mankind a humiliating and saddening spectacle. The treasonable menaces of other days have now ripened into treasonable deeds. Civil war now holds its carnival and reaps its bloody harvests. The nation is grappling with a gigantic conspiracy, struggling for existence, for the

preservation of its menaced life, against a rebellion that finds no parallel in the annals of the world.

When the echoes of the cannon treason trained upon Sumter smote upon the startled ear of the nation, patriotism summoned the people to assume the responsibilities of consummated power, and by the red hand of war shield the life and protect the liberties of the nation, menaced by this foul revolt against law and order, liberty and civilization. That patriotism which garners the hallowed memories of the past, which comprehends the vital issues of the present, which is instinct with the aspirations of the future that looms up grand and great, bade wealth open its coffers to meet the needs of the imperiled nation, and the citizen bare his bosom to the blows aimed at the nation's life; it bade the mother offer upon the altar of her endangered country her fair-haired boy in the bloom and pride of youth; it bade the wife send forth the husband of her love and hope to the harvest of death; and manhood

—“offer youth and beauty  
On the wasting shrine  
Of a stern and lofty duty.”

Mindful of a country to serve and to save, hundreds of thousands of the young men of loyal America have left their blooming fields, their forests and mines, their ringing workshops and mills, their ships that “help to wind the silken chain of commerce round the world,” their homes hallowed by associations and memories, their parents, brothers, sisters, wives, children, friends, the dear and the loved, to follow the old flag of United America to the battle-field, there to bear soldiers' burdens, do soldiers' duties, and fill, if it might be, soldiers' graves. We saw them as they thronged at the summons of duty around the unrolled banners of the Republic; we heard the glad music of their march; we gazed upon the glittering steel and upon the gleaming banners as they fluttered away from our straining sight; and with throbbing heart, quickened pulse, quivering lip, and tearful eye, we commended them to the guardian care of that Being who notes even the sparrow's fall.

Through nearly three years of alternate success and disasters, of weary toils, wasting marches, and decimating battles, they have borne bravely the banners of our unity and power. Many, who went from us in the pride of lusty life, now sleep in their bloody shrouds in the crowded and shallow trenches of the fields made immortal by their constancy and valor. Many, wasted by disease or falling by the hand of war, rest beneath lonely mounds on the battle-fields, along the lines of marches, around the encampments and hospitals, or in the graveyards beneath their own northern skies. Many, broken by disease, or maimed by shot or shell, lie in the hospitals, or linger among us, reminding us of the appalling sacrifices of this revolt of barbarism. Worn out and wasted by the storms of war, regiments that marched away with crowded ranks are standing sternly front to the armed foes of the Republic wherever they menace the authority of the nation, ready to follow their torn and faded flags into fresh battle-fields. The wasting battalions that opened the Mississippi, so that its waters, from their source to the Gulf, reflect back the stars of our national flag; the war-smitten regiments of the army of the Potomac, that on the immortal field of Gettysburg rolled back the advancing legions of the rebellion, broke its power, and blasted its hopes forever, must yet be renewed by the fresh vigor and blood of the people. The needs of the imperiled country still demand that the decimated ranks of our veteran heroes that now bear upon their bayonets the unity and existence of the nation should be crowded with the manhood of the Republic.

Why is it, Mr. President, that this magnificent continental Republic is now rent, torn,

dissevered by civil war? Why is it that the land resounds with the measured tread of a million of armed men? Why is it that our bright waters are stained and our green fields reddened with fraternal blood? Why is it that the young men of America, in the pride and bloom of early manhood, are summoned from homes, from the mothers who bore them, from the wives and sisters who love them, to the fields of bloody strife? Why is it that millions of the men and the women of Christian America are sorrowing with aching hearts and tearful eyes for the absent, the loved, and the lost? Why is it that the heart of loyal America throbs heavily, oppressed with anxiety and gloom for the future of the country?

Sir, this gigantic crime against the peace, the unity, and the life of the nation is to make eternal the hateful dominion of man over the souls and bodies of his fellow-men. These sacrifices of property, of health, and of life, these appalling sorrows and agonies now upon us, are all the merciless inflictions of slavery in its gigantic effort to found its empire and make its hateful power forever dominant in Christian America. Yes, slavery is the conspirator that conceived and organized this mighty conspiracy against the unity and existence of the Republic. Slavery is the traitor that madly plunged the nation into the fire and blood and darkness of civil war. Slavery is the criminal whose hands are dripping with the blood of our murdered sons. Yes, sir, slavery is the conspirator, the traitor, the criminal that is reddening the sods of Christian America with the blood of fathers and husbands, sons and brothers, and bathing them with the bitter tears of mothers, wives, and sisters.

Sir, slavery—bold, proud, domineering, with hate in its heart, scorn in its eye, defiance in its mein—has pronounced against the existence of republican institutions in America, against the supremacy of the Government, the unity and life of the nation. Slavery, hating the cherished institutions that tend to secure the rights and enlarge the privileges of mankind; despising the toiling masses as mudsills and white slaves; defying the Government, its Constitution, and its laws, has openly pronounced itself the mortal and unappeasable enemy of the Republic. Slavery stands to-day the only clearly pronounced foe our country has on the globe. Therefore every word spoken, every line written, every act performed, that keeps the breath of life in slavery for a moment, is against the existence of democratic institutions, against the dignity of the toiling millions, against the liberty, the peace, the honor, the renown, and the life of the nation. In the lights of to-day that flash upon us from camp and battle-field, the loyal eye, heart, and brain of America sees and feels and realizes that the death of slavery is the life of the nation! The loyal voice of patriotism pronounces, in clear accents, that American slavery must die that the American Republic may live!

Mr. President, the imperishable records of the Republic will bear to future ages the amplest evidence that slavery has ever been hostile to the spirit of her free institutions. Planted in America by the commercial and colonial policy of the British empire, fostered by British legislation, protected by British kings and Queens, lords, judges, and prelates, slavery, from the day it entered the harbor of Jamestown to the dawn of the Revolution, was an alien in America, an enemy to law and order, liberty and progress. The pages of our colonial history bear to us the amplest testimony that our fathers saw its malign influence, and protested against the slave trade and the slave-extending policy of the British Government. The bright pages of our history, upon which are recorded the heroic deeds of the men who accepted the bloody issues of civil war in defense of their periled liberties, and whose names are forever associated with national independence and constitutional Government, will transmit to all coming generations the glorious fact that the founders of the Republic believed slavery to be an evil—a

moral, social, and political evil—that would pass away under the influence of the ideas and principles they had proclaimed.

But slavery, ever lawless, aggressive, seductive, glided into the illustrious assembly that proclaimed America independent, and there bade the men who were hurling defiance at the most powerful empire of the world erase from their immortal declaration the words Jefferson had traced, branding the African slave trade as an “execrable commerce,” “a piratical warfare,” “a cruel war against human nature itself.” In the Continental Congress, when the exhausted and bleeding country needed soldiers to fight her battles, slavery raised its imperious voice, as it does in these days of peril, against arming black men and permitting them to fight and bleed for the Republic. Yes, when the heel of British power was on Carolina and Georgia, and the youthful and accomplished Laurens sought to summon bondmen to the defense of the struggling country, slavery was “the triple-headed monster that shed the baleful influence of avarice, prejudice, and pusillanimity in all our assemblies.” Slavery came into the Convention of illustrious statesmen met to frame a Constitution for United America, and by the voice of the Pinckneys definitely declared that “South Carolina could never receive the Constitution if it prohibits the slave trade;” and that assembly of immortal statesmen who had met unawed the power of the British empire were forced to permit the African slave trade to continue for twenty years longer, unchecked by national legislation, and to incorporate into the new Constitution a provision under color of which slave masters could hunt their fleeing bondmen over fields once moistened with revolutionary blood.

Sir, under the new Constitution, framed to secure the blessings of liberty, slavery strode into the chambers of legislation, the halls of justice, the mansions of the Executive, and, with menaces in the one hand and bribes on the other, it awed the timid and seduced the weak. Marching on from conquest to conquest, crushing where it could not awe, seduce, or corrupt, slavery saw institutions of learning, benevolence, and religion, political organizations and public men, ay, and the people too, bend before it and acknowledge its iron rule. Seizing on the needed acquisitions of Louisiana and of Florida to extend its boundaries, consolidate its power, and enlarge its sway, slavery crossed the Mississippi and there established its barbarous dominion against the too feeble resistance of a not yet conquered people. Controlling absolutely the policy of the South, swaying the policy of the nation, impressing itself upon the legislation, the sentiments, and opinions of the North, slavery moved on to assured dominion. Under its aggressive advances emancipation societies, organized by the men of the revolutionary era in the first bright ardor of secured liberty, one by one disappeared; presses and churches forgot to remember those in bonds as bound with them, and recreant sons disowned the sentiments, opinions, and principles of a glorious ancestry. And slavery, in the pride of power, proclaimed itself in the Halls of Congress, through its apostles and champions, its Calhouns and McDuffies, “a positive good,” “the only stable basis of republican institutions,” “the corner-stone of the republican edifice.”

But amid this general defection from the faith of the statesmen and heroes of the revolutionary age, a fearless and faithful few clung to the teachings of Washington and Franklin, Jefferson and Jay, and their illustrious compeers. Unawed by its power, unseduced by its blandishments, they opposed to the aggression of slavery—ay, to slavery itself—a stern and unyielding resistance. They proclaimed emancipation to be the duty of the master and the right of the slave. To advance the cause of emancipation and to improve the condition of free people of color they avowed their readiness to use “all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion.” Slavery marked and branded these heroic men as political and social outlaws; compelling them, in the words of John G. Whittier, “to hold property, liberty, and life itself at the mercy of lawless mobs.” Slavery cast its malign influence over all the land, maddening the brain and firing the heart of a deluded people against the fearless few who opposed its aggressions, and pitied its hapless victims. Passion—blind, unreasoning passion—ruled the hour. Cities were lighted by the sacked and burning dwellings of a proscribed and hated race. Churches, institutions of learning, and presses, were often forcibly closed or destroyed at the bidding of slavery by the lawless violence of “gentlemen of property and standing.”

Slaves were held in the District of Columbia and slave pens and the slave trade polluted and dishonored the national capital under the color of laws for which the people of America were responsible in the forum of nations and before the throne of Almighty God. Christian men and women, oppressed with the sin and shame, humbly petitioned Congress to relieve them from that sin and shame by making the national capital free. Slavery bade its tools—its Pattons, its Pinckneys, and its Athertons—violate the

constitutional right of petition, and willing majorities hastened to register its decree. Slavery arraigned before the bar of the House of Representatives John Quincy Adams, the illustrious champion of the right of petition and the freedom of speech, and it expelled the fearless and faithful Giddings for the offence of daring to construe the Constitution of his country and interpret the law of nations. Slavery stepped upon the decks of Massachusetts ships in the harbor of Charleston, seized colored seamen, citizens of the Commonwealth, and consigned them to prisons, to be fined, to be lashed, and to be sold into perpetual bondage. Massachusetts, mindful of the rights of all her citizens, sent Samuel Hoar, one of her most honored sons, to test the constitutional rights of her imprisoned citizens in the judicial tribunals. Slavery cast him violently from South Carolina, and enacted that whoever should attempt to defend the rights of colored seamen in the courts of that Commonwealth, should suffer the ignominy of imprisonment.

Slavery cast its devouring eye upon the broad, rich fields of Texas, and sent its pioneers to wrench them from the feeble grasp of the Mexican republic. By the pen of Calhoun, its great champion, slavery in the name of the nation demanded, in the face of Europe, the annexation of that slaveholding republic, to defeat ultimate emancipation there, and to tighten the fetters of the bondmen here. In obedience to the humiliating demand of slavery, Texas was forced into the Union by an unconstitutional joint resolution, and the nation plunged into a war with Mexico. When peace returned, it brought with it half a million square miles of free territory. The North, the humiliated North, timidly asked that this territory, made forever free by Mexican law, should be forever consecrated to freedom by national legislation; but slavery demanded the right to extend itself over these free Territories, and threatened the dismemberment of the Union if that claim was denied. California framed a constitution and asked admission as a free Commonwealth, but slavery resisted her admission with menaces of disunion and civil war. To appease slavery, a pliant Congress organized Utah and New Mexico, so that slave-masters could range over them with their fettered bondmen, gave fifty thousand square miles of the free soil of New Mexico to slaveholding Texas, and with them \$10,000,000, and enacted the unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian fugitive slave act, that has dishonored and humiliated the nation before earth and heaven. Slavery then, in its hour of complete triumph, insolently demanded that the two great political parties, who had shrunk appalled before its menaces of disunion and civil war, who had betrayed the cause of freedom, humanity, and civilization in America, should now declare these, its acts, "finalities," and bid the people forever cease "agitation."

Having forced these parties to pronounce its legislation of 1850 a "finality in principle and substance," slavery strode like an imperial despot into these Chambers and demanded the repeal of the Missouri prohibition of the 6th of March, 1820, and a faithless Congress and a subservient Executive hastened to open half a million square miles, in the central regions of the Republic, consecrated forever to freedom and free labor, to the footsteps of the bondman. Northern freemen went to that magnificent Territory to found there the institutions of freedom. Slavery made its brutal tools invade Kansas, seize the ballot-box, elect a territorial Legislature, enact inhuman and unchristian laws, bathe the virgin soil of that beautiful region with the blood of civil war, frame a slave constitution by fraud, and force it upon a free people. Faithfully did the propagandists of slavery labor in Kansas and in Congress, and in the Executive Departments of the Government, to execute its decrees. They invaded the Territory, they usurped the Government, they enacted slave statutes, they robbed and burned, they murdered brave men contending for their lawful rights. In Congress, the champions of slavery were hardly less brutal than in the wilds of distant Kansas. My colleague [Mr. SUMNER] portrayed the crimes of slavery against Kansas, and he was smitten down upon the floor of the Senate by "a brutal, murderous, and cowardly assault." The propagandists of slavery framed a slave constitution, sustained it by fraud and violence, and the weak and wicked Administration of James Buchanan, in obedience to the imperative demands of slavery, attempted to force it by corruption through Congress upon an unwilling people, but for the first time slavery was baffled, defeated, dishonored. Freemen triumphed; Kansas came into the Union radiant with liberty.

Sir, slavery saw its waning power; it saw, too, that its criminal victories of the past were but barren and fruitless triumphs that turned to ashes on the lip. It then wrung from the Supreme Court the Dred Scott decision, by which it hoped to control the vast Territories of the Republic, even against the actual will of the settlers. It bade the Legislature of New Mexico enact a slave code, and also a code for the enslavement of white laboring men. It sent Walker and his fillibusters to Central America to win slave territory. It sighed for Cuba, which it could not clutch. It mobbed,

flogged, expelled, and sometimes murdered Christian men and women in the South for no offense against law, humanity, or religion. It maddened the southern brain and fired the southern heart. It turned large masses of the people of the South against the institutions and the people of the North, against the Constitution and the old flag of their country. It came into the Thirty-Sixth Congress threatening to dismember this Union of constellated Commonwealths if the people of America should elect a President opposed to its admission into the Territories. It pushed into the Democratic national convention, and, as the first step towards disunion, severed the Democratic party. It then went into the presidential election, seeking defeat, yet threatening the vengeance of disunion and civil war if defeated. Regardless, however, of its treasonable menaces the people went to the ballot-boxes and made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States. Slavery instantly raised the banner of treason, dragged South Carolina with headlong haste into open rebellion, and forced other States swiftly to follow her example. Slavery organized conspiracies in the Cabinet, conspiracies in Congress, conspiracies in the States, conspiracies in the Army, conspiracies in the Navy, conspiracies everywhere for the overthrow of the Government and the disruption of the Republic. At the bidding of slavery the oft-vaunted southern confederacy—the dream of slaveholding traitors for thirty years, rose upon the recognized basis that bondage was the normal condition of all men of the African race. Slavery bade those of its champions who were in the service of the nation leave Cabinets and Senates, military posts and naval stations, for the service of the rebellion; and at the bidding of slavery, Floyd, its truest exponent, left the Cabinet when there seemed nothing more for him to steal; and Davis and Toombs, Slidell and Mason, Hunter and Benjamin, and their guilty compeers in treason, in solemn mockery left the chambers of Congress when the plots, conspiracies, treacheries, and perjuries imposed upon them by the great architect of ruin seemed accomplished.

Sir, not content with seizing forts, arsenals, arms, and public property everywhere within the rebel States, slavery bade the frowning batteries menacing Sumter, fire upon the Star of the West, sailing under the protecting folds of the national flag, and freighted with bread for starving soldiers; and when that act of armed treason failed to arouse to action an insulted but patient and forbearing country, slavery bade those rebel batteries open their fire on Sumter and its few starving but heroic defenders; and those consuming batteries, in obedience to its command, hurled shot and shell upon that devoted fortress till the glorious old flag of united America came down, and the rebel banner waved over the smoking ruins. And thus slavery, after an aggressive warfare of two generations upon the vital and animating spirit of republican institutions, upon the cherished and hallowed sentiments of a free and Christian people, upon the enduring interests and lasting fame of the nation, organizes a treasonable conspiracy, raises the standard of revolt, and plunges the nation into a bloody contest for the preservation of its menaced life. To the full comprehension of every man in America whose heart, brain, and soul have not been poisoned by its seductive arts and malign influence slavery is the cause, the whole cause, of this foul, wicked, and bloody rebellion. Every loyal American whose reason is unclouded sees that slavery is the prolific mother of all these nameless woes—these sumless agonies of civil war. He sees that every loyal soldier upon the cot of sickness, of wounds, and of death, was laid there by slavery; that every wounded and maimed soldier hobbling along our streets was wounded and maimed by slavery; that the lowly grave of every soldier fallen in defense of the country was dug by slavery; that mourning wives and sorrowing children were made widows and orphans by slavery. Before the tribunal of mankind of the present and of coming ages, before the bar of the ever-living God, the loyal heart of America holds slavery responsible for every dollar sacrificed, for every drop of blood shed, for every pang of toil, of agony, and of death, for every tear wrung from suffering or affection, in this godless rebellion now upon us. For these treasonable deeds, for these crimes against freedom, humanity, and the life of the nation, slavery should be doomed by the loyal people of America to a swift, utter, and ignominious annihilation.

But slavery, Mr. President, should not only be doomed to an ignominious death, to perish utterly from the face of the country, for the treasonable crime of levying war upon the Government, but the safety if not the existence of the nation demands its extermination. The experience of nearly three years of civil war has demonstrated to the full comprehension of every loyal and intelligent man in America that slavery is the motive-power, the heart and soul and brain of the rebellion. Slavery fills the hearts of the southern people of its sweltered venom, with its dark and malignant hatred of the free States, and with its bitter scorn and contempt for the toiling masses, for the policy that cares for their rights and interests, and for the institutions that improve

and elevate them. Slavery instinctively feels that the achieved institutions of twenty million free people, their free speech, free presses, their political, moral, and religious convictions, their permanent interests, all forbid that its policy should continue to control the national Government. Slavery realizes, too, that every enduring element of the Constitution, every permanent principle of national policy and interest is and must continue to be hostile to the ascendancy of its principles and its policy. Slavery, hating, scorning, despising the toiling millions of the Republic, conscious that it cannot longer retain the permanent control of the national Government, consolidates the public opinion of the South against the people and Government, and fires southern ambition and interest with the idea of a splendid slaveholding empire, sitting on the shores of the Mexican Gulf, and extending its imperial sway over Cuba, Mexico, and Central America.

Sir, slavery not only fires the southern heart, brain and soul, and nerves the southern arm in council-hall and on the battle-field with its malignant hate and bitter scorn of Yankee laborers and Yankee institutions, its lofty contempt for the principles and policy of freedom, its haughty defiance of the authority of the national Government, and its gorgeous visions of the future power of the southern confederacy, commanding the commerce of the world by its tropical productions and its millions of slaves, but it uses the bones and sinews of more than three millions of the bondmen of rebel masters in support of the rebellion. These slaves of rebel masters sow and reap, plant and gather the harvests that support rebel masters and feed rebel armies. By their ceaseless, unpaid toil, these millions of bondmen enable their traitorous masters and the poor white men of the rebel States to leave their fields and shops and rush to the battle-field to shed the blood of our loyal countrymen, of our neighbors and friends and brothers and sons. These bondmen throw up fortifications, dig trenches and rifle-pits, make roads and bridges, fell forrests and build barracks, drive teams, and relieve in many ways the toil of rebel soldiers, thus making more efficient the rebel armies. It is as clear as the track of the sun across the heavens that these slaves of rebel masters are as efficient instruments for the overthrow of the authority of the Federal Government, for the dismemberment of the Republic, and the establishment of the rebel empire, as are rebel soldiers in camp or on battle-field. The spade and hoe of the slaves of rebels support the rifle and bayonet of rebel soldiers. Slavery is not only the motive power, the heart and soul of the rebellion, but it is the arm also. Therefore the preservation of the life of the country, and the lives of our brave soldiers battling for national existence, as well as the just punishment of conspiracy and treason, demand that the loyal men of the Republic shall swear by Him who liveth evermore that slavery in America shall die.

Not only the punishment of its appalling crimes, not only the lives of our countrymen and the preservation of the life of the nation, demand the utter extermination of slavery, but the future repose of the country also demands it. Slavery has poisoned the very fountains of existence in the South; it has entered into the blood and bone and marrow and the soul of our southern countrymen. It has filled their bosoms with bitter, fierce, unreasoning hate toward their countrymen of the North, and the institutions, the Government, and the flag of their country. So long as slavery shall live, it will infuse its deadly and fatal poison into the southern brain, heart, and soul. Then let slavery die a felon's death, and sink into a traitor's grave, amid the curses of a loyal nation. Then, when slavery shall sleep the sleep that knows no waking, in the grave of dishonor and infamy, reason will assume its mild sway again over our now maddened, poisoned, and intoxicated countrymen of the South. Take the maddening cup from the trembling hand of the drunkard; who, in his wild delirium, hates the mother that bore him, the wife of his bosom, and the children of his love, and that drunkard will be a man again, and love, cherish and protect the mother, wife, and children he would smite down in his madness. Smite down slavery, strike the fetters from the limbs of its hapless victims, and slave masters will become loyal again, ready to pour out their blood for the Government they now hate and the country they now assail. They will recur to the recollections of the early days of the Republic with gratitude and patriotic pride, they will look forward with undoubting confidence in the future of their country. Their hearts will again throb with kindly regard for their countrymen of the North, and they will hail once more the beneficent institutions of a united country. The old flag, under which the men of the North and of the South fought and bled, side by side, on land and wave, will again be an object of affection and pride; its stars, now obscured to their vision, will gleam again with brighter lustre and more radiant beauty;

Sir, would we, then, punish the foul conspirator, the lawless traitor, the giant criminal, that organized this conspiracy, inaugurated this civil war, and murdered our sons; would we preserve our country one and indivisible; would we secure for our countrymen, our institutions, our country, and our Government future repose and affection, let

us crush out and utterly exterminate slavery in America. Surely the needs of the country, the pressing exigencies of passing events teach this as our first and highest duty. Surely the far-seeing intelligence of loyal patriotism is rising to the full comprehension of this duty to an endangered country, to the present and future ages. Surely the Congress of the United States and the Chief Magistrate of the Republic should come to the realization of this transcendent duty.

When slavery, in the spring of 1861, stained the land with the blood of civil war, the President, by proclamation, summoned the Thirty-Seventh Congress to meet on the 4th of July, and at noon on that day Congress assembled, to enter upon the mighty task imposed upon it by the national perils. Vacant chairs in both Chambers vividly impressed upon the mind the gigantic proportions of the rebellion, and the fearful magnitude of the impending struggle, and inspired the soul with something of awe in the presence of events so transcendent. Few of the chiefs of slavery were present to dominate, seduce, or corrupt. The clear-headed, practical, dominating Davis; the erratic, reckless, blustering Toombs; the accomplished, timid, cautious Hunter; the eloquent, polished, insincere Benjamin; the pretentious, pompous Mason; the bold, adroit, unscrupulous Slidell; the dark, cold, bitter Clay; the genial, courteous, fanatical Brown, and their compeers, in conspiracy, sedition, and treason, plotted their foul, dark, and infernal work no longer in the Capitol of the nation. But Breckinridge, the chosen chief of incipient treason, not less guilty than his absent compeers in crime, was present to cavil and to criticise, denounce the acts of loyal patriotism, ere he slunk away to strike at the heart of the country that had trusted and honored him. The chair of Douglas was vacant; life-long opponents gazed sadly upon it, for they gratefully remembered that the closing hours of his crowded life were given to patriotism, to adjuring his devoted followers to cling to the Union, and crush the rebellion with the iron hand of war. Andrew Johnson, baffling the assassins of the Union in Tennessee, was present to cheer and to animate by bold and patriotic counsels.

Sir, seldom in the history of nations have statesmen been called to the performance of higher duties than were the men who were summoned by the Administration they had placed in power to legislate for a land rent and torn by discord and stained by fraternal blood. They entered with brave hearts and resolved spirits upon the great work imposed upon them with unsurpassed devotion and tireless industry. The Administration asked for four hundred thousand men and \$400,000,000, and Congress promptly gave it five hundred thousand men and \$500,000,000. The Army and Navy were increased, and laws enacted for the organization and government of the military and naval forces, and for supplying the Government with the needed means to carry on the war, whose gigantic proportions startled and amazed the world.

Statesmen of the majority in both Houses of Congress clearly saw that slavery was not only the cause and motive-power of the rebellion, but that the ceaseless toil of its millions of enforced victims enabled treason to fill the ranks, feed and pay its armies. They would quickly strike at the vitals of the insurrection by confiscating the property of leading rebels, and freeing the slaves of all rebel masters, but prudence demanded that they should yield, at least for a time, to the counsels of the cautious and the fears of the timid. Slaves were used by rebel armies to erect fortifications, dig trenches and rifle-pits; but it was not until after the defeat of Bull Run that a majority could be obtained in Congress to enact that such slaves should be declared free. The timid and the cautious feared that Union men in the border States would be alarmed by the emancipation of the slaves used to construct works, behind which rebel legions might hurl shot and shell into the bared bosoms of our devoted sons, battling for their country under the old flag. But this measure, denounced by the traitor Breckinridge as "the first of a series of acts loosing all bonds," became the law of the land.

Sir, as the rebellion developed its gigantic proportions, as the rebel confederacy manifested its great military power, the loyal masses, whose instincts outrun the deduction of statesmen, did not fail to see that slavery was the vital and impelling force of the rebellion, and that it should be crippled by the exercise of all the constitutional and war powers of the Government, so they hailed and welcomed the proclamation of John C. Fremont.

Congress assembled in December, 1861, instructed by the events of the war, and assured by the sentiments of the people. Measures of transcendent magnitude pressed for consideration, and to the consideration of these measures Congress addressed itself with an industry never surpassed—no, never equaled by any Congress in the history of the Republic. Important measures concerning the Army and Navy were passed, a great system of internal taxation was devised, and the revenue laws revised. The Pacific railroad bill was enacted, and that beneficent measure, the homestead bill, was made the law of the land. Other measures for the defense, protection, and interests

of the country, hardly less important, were matured and enacted; but the crowning glory of the Thirty-Seventh Congress was its comprehensive, far-reaching legislation against slavery, the declared enemy of the country, and the common enemy of the race. For two generations slavery had polluted the national capital, under the sanction of the nation. On the day Congress reassembled, three thousand men, women, and children, fettered by the people of this Republic, as they held up their manacled hands, could see the stars and stripes wave over the Capitol. Congress, by decisive majorities in both Houses, struck the shackles from the limbs of these three thousand bondmen, and made the capital of the nation free for evermore. Slavery, stung to madness, muttered maledictions, painted the miseries of freedom, drew vivid pictures of the horrors of San Domingo, and predicted anarchy and strife; but the enfranchised bondmen assembled in the churches of the living God, and offered up the thanks of a grateful people for the priceless boon of personal freedom.

The fifteen thousand persons of African descent in the District of Columbia were subjected to inhuman and oppressive laws and ordinances. Congress enacted that they should be tried for the same offense in the same manner and be subjected to the same punishment as were white persons. The free colored people of the District were compelled to pay taxes for the support of schools from which their children were excluded, and Congress authorized them to establish schools, and to pay their own money for the support of their own schools.

Slavery demanded the right to enter and range over the Territories unchecked by national legislation or local law. It bade the legislators of New Mexico enact a barbarous slave code, and also a degrading code for the oppression of white laboring men; but those legislators hastened to repeal those dishonoring codes, when the nation put its heel upon the neck of the slave power in the autumn of 1860. On every rood of the vast territory of the United States, the Thirty-Seventh Congress has written, Slavery shall be prohibited forever and forever. The irrevocable decree has gone forth that evermore those prairies and forests and mines, with their illimitable resources to be developed for mankind, are consecrated to freedom and free institutions for all, chains and fetters for none.

Slavery, unmindful of the commercial interests of the country, although the commercial interest of the country have been too often mindful of the slavery, persistently refused for two generations to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, but the Thirty-Seventh Congress by large majorities acknowledged the independence of Hayti and Liberia. For many years the African slave traders carried on their inhuman and accursed traffic under the protecting folds of the American flag, but slavery saw neither inhumanity nor dishonor in this degrading prostitution of the emblem of our national sovereignty. The Administration early negotiated a treaty with the British Government for the more effectual suppression of that loathsome traffic, by the mutual recognition of the right of visitation and of search on the coasts of Africa, and the Senate of the United States, no longer controlled by the oligarchs, ratified that treaty, and the Thirty-Seventh Congress enacted the needed legislation to carry it into full effect. In spite of all persuasive influences and noisy clamors the President of the United States permitted the violated laws to be enforced upon a slave pirate in the city of New York, by which he died a felon's death and left a felon's name.

Officers in the military service often dishonored that service by surrendering persons claimed as fugitive slaves, who sought protection and service under the flag of the country. Sometimes persons claimed as fugitive slaves were given up to rebel claimants and inhumanly tortured. Our encampments were sometimes searched by traitor masters, weaponed for violence, and humane officers were sometimes arrested and punished for refusing to stain their souls with the crime of surrendering to rebel masters escaped slaves, who were ever ready to serve their country with a noble fidelity—a fidelity now acknowledged by William H. Seward in these apt and ever-to-remembered words:

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of freedom.*"

The Thirty-seventh Congress enacted by decisive majorities a new article of war for the Government of all our armies, that persons claimed as fugitive slaves shall not be surrendered by persons engaged in the military or naval service on pain of being dismissed from that service.

Sir, the Thirty-Seventh Congress declared in the confiscation act that no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, should be delivered up or deprived of his liberty in any way except for some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall make oath that he has not been in arms against the United States, nor given aid and comfort to the rebellion in any way; and that no

persons in the military or naval service shall assume to decide upon the validity of any claim to fugitive slaves, nor surrender any such persons to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service. By the ninth section of that act, the Thirty-Seventh Congress provided that all slaves of persons in rebellion against the Government of the United States escaping and taking refuge within the lines of the Army, or captured from such persons or deserted by them, should be deemed captures of war and should be forever free. By this sweeping act the Thirty-Seventh Congress decreed that freedom should follow the advancing flag of the Republic wherever our armies should march in the rebel States.

The President was authorized by the Thirty-Seventh Congress to receive into the military service of the United States the slaves of rebel masters, and the slaves so accepted for military purposes, their mothers, their wives, and their children, if held in servitude by rebel masters, were made free forever. This series of acts of the Thirty-Seventh Congress "loosing," in the words of John C. Breckinridge, "all bonds," though resisted, misrepresented, and maligned, will be sanctioned by the approval of the present and of coming ages, by that patriotism that embraces the permanent and lasting interests of United America, by that humanity that cares for the poor and lowly, by that religion that recognizes in the humblest of the children of men a being made in the image of God for whom Christ mounted the cross. The act giving a gratuity of \$1,000,000 to the loyal slavemasters of the District of Columbia, and the vote pledging the nation to aid emancipation in the loyal States, will stand forever as evidences of the moderation, the justice, and the self-sacrificing spirit of the statesmen who carried through Congress this series of humane, Christian, and patriotic measures.

Sir, on the 22d of September, 1862, the President of the United States called the attention of all persons engaged in the military and naval service to these humane, wise, and comprehensive provisions of the laws of Congress, and he "enjoined and ordered" them to "observe, obey, and enforce them," and those title-deeds to freedom were thereafter to be enforced in the land of the rebellion by the glittering bayonets of a million men.

The President of the United States, on the 22d of September, 1862, startled and thrilled the nations by that immortal proclamation that announced "that on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or in any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom." On the 1st day of January, 1863, the President of the United States, "invoking the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God," redeemed this solemn pledge of the 22d of September, which the recording angel had registered. On that day the irreversible decree was sent forth to master and slave, to earth and heaven. By this exercise of the war powers of the Government all persons held as slaves in any State or part thereof in rebellion were declared to be "then, thenceforward, and forever free," and the Executive, the military, and naval authorities were pledged to recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. This complete, absolute, and final decree of emancipation in rebel States, born of military necessity, proclaimed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, is the settled and irrevocable law of the Republic, to be observed, obeyed, and enforced, by Army and Navy, and the irreversible voice of the nation.

The enforcement of this proclamation will give peace and order, freedom and unity, to a now distracted country; the failure to enforce it will bring with it discord and anarchy, a dissevered Union and a broken nation. The issues are clearly and distinctly drawn by the proclamation between law and order and freedom and a united nation on the one hand, and anarchy and discord and slavery and a shivered and dishonored Union on the other. Freedom, humanity, and religion, the unerring voice of patriotism, pronounces all attempts to defeat the enforcement of this proclamation decreeing the freedom of all slaves in rebel States as unpatriotic, as criminal, ay, as treasonable, too, as were the efforts to defeat the final establishment of the Declaration of the 4th of July, 1776. The men who sought to defeat the consummation of that "proclamation of the universal emancipation of man from the thralldom of man" sank into obscure and dishonored graves under the blasting and withering fires of outraged patriotism. The fires of patriotism burn as brightly now as in earlier days, and the men "who," in the words of a gallant soldier, "emerge from their gloom as the shadows fall upon their country," the men who prate of the constitutional rights of slavery, treason, and crime, should remember the fate of the "skulking neutrals" and

the sticklers for "rightful authority" in 1776 are joining in giving aid and comfort to the traitor chiefs. Patriotism instinctively indorses this proclamation of emancipation; treason in every fiber of its being strives with bloody hands to throttle it. In the fiery and bloody struggles through which this proclamation has passed, struggles that have stirred this nation to its profoundest depths, patriotism will mark and brand the men who care more for the safety of the slaves of rebel masters than for the blood of brave men fighting the battles of the endangered country, more for the perpetuity of slavery in rebellion than for the unity and the perpetuity of the Republic.

Sir, eighteen eventful months have passed since the policy of emancipation in the rebel States was announced to the doubting nations. Met on its announcement by the vehement resistance of mighty interests, assailed by passion and prejudice, misunderstood by timidity and ignorance, that transcendent measure, sanctioned alike by liberty, humanity, and patriotism, has fought its way till it has won for our country doubting friends, conquered the country's enemies in the Old World, and laid low the vaunted power of its assailants in the new. It has lifted up the bloody civil war in America from what European statesmen were wont to characterize as a mere struggle for power on the one hand, and independence on the other, to a holy war for liberty, humanity, and civilization against the rebel slavemongers, fighting to perpetuate in Christian America a vulgar, brutal, and loathsome barbarism. This proclamation of emancipation, sent forth by the President in the name of the menaced nation, by elevating the struggle in which we are engaged, is fast winning for our country the active sympathies of humanity the wide world over.

Since emancipation in the rebel States was proclaimed as the settled policy of the Republic, the huge, horrid, and ghastly system of human slavery in republican and Christian America, that in the pride and arrogance of its power mocked and jeered at the claims of toiling millions, scoffed at and derided of the higher law, and defied the authority of the country, is hastening to its inglorious end, to the grave of dishonor that knows no resurrection. Its worshippers, who were swift to come to its support before they were called; and to run on its errands before they were sent, and slinking away from it in this its hour of bitter humiliation, or hastening to announce, in accents of anguish, that the idol of their worship is dethroned, fallen, dead forevermore.

Sir, slavery in the loyal States is hastening to its fall. Delaware sends to the House of Representatives an immediate emancipationist as the exponent of her sentiments and opinions that ere long will be embodied in a decree of liberty. Maryland has summoned a convention to smite the fetters from the limbs of her bondmen, and to place her in the lists of free Commonwealths. West Virginia, carved out of the ancient dominion, begins her career by a deed of gradual emancipation. Missouri proclaims a system of gradual emancipation, which her interests and advancing public sentiment alike demand shall be transformed into a system of immediate and unconditional abolition. Kentucky alone, among the loyal States, bears the banners of slavery proudly and defiantly. Spared by the tender mercy of the President of the United States, slavery there vauntingly proclaims its power, and assumes to control the destinies of that Commonwealth. But the inexorable logic of events, the advancing sentiments of her people, the efforts of many of her noblest sons, will rescue "the dark and bloody ground" from the domination of slavemasters, and the opprobrium of continuing to be what she now is, the slave-pen of loyal America, into which slavemongers run slaves from the States where slavery is perishing, and where men made free by the President's proclamation in rebel States are often arrested and imprisoned in shameless defiance of Federal authority. Tennessee, excepted by the President in his proclamation of emancipation, is, under the lead of Andrew Johnson, ripening for immediate and unconditional emancipation. Arkansas accepts the proclamation, and prohibits slavery forever in her organic law. Louisiana elects a State administration pledged by her Governor in his inaugural address to the "universal and immediate extinction of slavery as a public and private blessing," to base the regenerated State on a "devotion to the Union, on a love of liberty to all men, and on a spirit of justice and humanity" to put her constitution in harmony with the proclamation of freedom. The government of Virginia, recognized by the Congress of the United States, by an amendment to her organic law decrees immediate emancipation; and Federal bayonets will enforce that decree in that ancient Commonwealth, where repose the ashes of Washington and Henry, Jefferson and Madison, Mason and Marshall, and other champions of emancipation in her better days. Congress, not by the consent of the loyal States or loyal masters, but by the will and power of the nation, makes free at once and forever every slave who enlists into the military service. The Attorney General pronounces the black man, who was said to have no rights that white men were bound to respect, a citizen of the United States. The Secretary of State gives the black man the passport

of citizenship, which in every quarter of the globe is evidence that the bearer is a citizen of the North American Republic. The Secretary of War commissions a black man to be a surgeon in the military service of the United States; and the President organizes a hundred and twenty regiments of eighty thousand black men, who are bearing upon their flashing bayonets the unity of the Republic, and the destinies of their race.

Sir, slavery in America, though upheld by interests, customs, and usages, trenched about by inhuman statutes, and hedged around by passionate, vehement, and unreasoning prejudices, is fast crumbling to atoms beneath the blows rained upon it by liberty-loving and patriotic people. But let anti-slavery men listen to no truce, to no compromise, to no cry for mercy. Let them now be as inflexible as justice, as inexorable as destiny. Whenever and wherever a blow can be dealt at the vitals of the retreating fiend, let that blow be struck in the name of the bleeding nation, and of the "dumb, toiling millions bound and sold." A truce with slavery is a defeat for the nation. A compromise with slavery is a present of disaster and dishonor and a future of anarchy and blood. Mercy to slavery is a crime against liberty. The death of slavery is the annihilation of the rebellion, the unity of the Republic, the life of the nation, the harmonious development of republican institutions, the repose, culture, and renown of the people.

Though riven and shattered by the stupendous civil war it inaugurated, slavery still battles for existence with the reckless audacity of that desperation which sees with clear vision its impending doom. Though waning in power, slavery still retains in its grasp vast masses of men in the loyal States ready to do its bidding, and presents in its defense a rampart of three hundred thousand gleaming bayonets. Those masses must be won over to the gathering hosts of freedom, or utterly routed, and that rampart of glittering steel must go down before the advancing legions of the Republic, ere slavery sinks into the grave that knows no resurrection.

Sir, let not the anti-slavery men of this age forget that the founders of the Republic believed slavery would wither and die beneath the blended rays of the Christian and democratic institutions they founded. Let them not forget that slavery was then a mendicant, pleading for forbearance and mercy, for a little time to hide itself from the gaze of that humanity which it outraged and dishonored. Let them remember, too, how it eluded and deceived our fathers, and from a feeble mendicant became the master of the Government and the people, until it consummated its crimes by the inauguration of the revolution to blot the North American Republic from the muster-roll of nations. Let them remember, too, that masses of our countrymen have been, and still are, its pliant instruments, ever-swift to execute its decrees; at its bidding to trample upon the sacred right of petition; to arraign John Quincy Adams before the bar of the representatives of the people; to expel Joshua R. Giddings; to annex slaveholding Texas for the extension and perpetuation of its power; to open the free territory won from Mexico to its blistering footprints; to enact an inhuman fugitive slave law; to repeal the Missouri prohibition of slavery north and west of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ ; to invade the territory of Kansas, seize the ballot-boxes, elect a legislature, enact black codes, murder free State men for no offence, frame a Lecompton constitution, and attempt to force it upon an unwilling people by executive power and corruption; to promulgate the Dred Scott decision; to demand the incorporation into the Constitution of the recognition and protection of slavery south of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ ; the right to carry slaves in transit into, through, and over free States; the denial of the right to make the national capital free without the consent of slaveholding Virginia—the denial of the right of citizenship and suffrage to colored men in the free States, and a pledge to expend the treasures of the nation in colonizing free colored men at the will of slavemasters. Let them remember, too, that hundreds of thousands of our countrymen in loyal States, since slavery raised the banners of insurrection, and sent death, wounds, sickness, and sorrow into the homes of the people, have resisted, and still continue to resist, any measure for the defence of the nation, if that measure tended to impair the vital and animating powers of slavery. They resisted the act making free the rebels used by slaves for military purposes; the confiscation of rebel property and the freedom of the slaves of rebel masters; the abolition of slavery in the capital of the nation, and the consecration of the Territories to free labor and free laboring men; the proclamation of emancipation; the enlistment of colored men to fight the battles of the country; the freedom of the black soldier, who is fighting, bleeding, dying for the country, and the freedom of his wife and children. And now, when war has for nearly three years menaced the life of the nation, bathed the land in blood, and filled two hundred thousand graves with our slain sons, these men of the loyal States still cling to the falling fortunes of the relentless and unappeasable enemy of their country and its democratic institutions. They mourn, and will not be comforted, over the expiring system, in the border slave States, and in tones of indignation

or of anguish they utter lamentations over the proclamation of emancipation and the policy that is bringing rebel States back again, radiant with freedom.

The past with its crowded memories of the development and power, corruptions and crimes of slavery, the present with its lessons to be read by every eye, all demand that the anti-slavery men of united America should seize the first, the last, and every occasion to trample down and stamp out every vestige of slavery. Let them swear it, write it upon the lids of their Bibles, engrave it upon their door posts, and proclaim it in the face of earth and of heaven, that the barbarous, treasonable, man-dishonoring and God-defying system of human slavery in America shall perish utterly from the face of the Republic; that its supporters, apologists, and sympathizers shall never more guide the councils or wear the honors of the emancipated, disenthralled, and regenerated nation.

Engraving on every rood of the vast territories of the Republic, on the magnificent forests and prairies, valleys and mountains in the central regions of the continent in, letters of light, "Slavery shall be forever prohibited," obliterating slavery and annulling the slave code in the capital of the nation, decreeing under the war powers more than three million bondmen in the rebel States "thenceforward and forever free," proclaiming the emancipation of the slave by the fiat of the nation the instant he writes his name on the muster-roll of the defenders of the Republic, has riven and shivered the slave system into broken and dismembered fragments; and that huge and ghastly system now lies prostrate in the convulsive throes of dissolution. National legislation, executive action, judicial decision may still further wound and weaken, degrade and humiliate the now impotent system that once, in the pride of power, gave law to republican America. The hideous fugitive slave act still blackens the statutes of this Christian land, reminding us of the degradation and humiliation of our country when the heel of that master was on its neck. Justice and humanity, self-respect and decency, all demand that the lingering infamy shall be obliterated from the page it blackens. The decree of emancipation, too, should be enforced and sanctioned by measures of legislation; the colored soldiers who are fighting our battles with unsurpassed devotion and heroic courage should be entitled by law to receive the pay and emoluments of other soldiers of the Republic, and their wives and children should be made free by act of Congress, and placed under the protective care of the country for which their husbands and fathers are periling liberty and life on battle-fields in spite of that merciless ban of the rebel leaders which denies to them the rights and usages of civilized warfare.

But, sir, the crowning act in this series of acts for the restriction and extinction of slavery in America in this proposed amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the existence of slavery forevermore in the Republic of the United States. If this amendment shall be incorporated by the will of the nation into the Constitution of the United States, it will obliterate the last lingering vestiges of the slave system; its chattelizing, degrading, and bloody codes; its dark, malignant, barbarizing spirit; all it was and is, everything connected with it or pertaining to it, from the face of the nation it has scarred with moral desolation, from the bosom of the country it has reddened with the blood and strewn with the graves of patriotism. The incorporation of this amendment into the organic law of the nation will make impossible forevermore the reappearing of the discarded slave system, and the returning of the despotism of the slave-masters' domination.

Then, sir, when this amendment to the Constitution shall be consummated the shackle will fall from the limbs of the harmless bondmen, and the lash drop from the weary hand of the taskmaster. Then the sharp cry of the agonizing hearts of severed families will cease to vex the weary ear of the nation, and to pierce the ear of Him whose judgments are now avenging the wrongs of centuries. When the slave mart, pen, and auction-block, with their clanking fetters for human limbs, will disappear from the land they have brutalized, and the school-house will raise to enlighten the darkened intellect of a race imbruted by long years of enforced ignorance. Then the sacred rights of human nature, the hallowed family relations of husband and wife, parent and child, will be protected by the guardian spirit of that law which makes sacred alike the proud homes and lowly cabins of freedom. Then the scarred earth, blighted by the sweat and tears of bondage, will bloom again under the quickening culture of rewarded toil. Then the wronged victim of the slave system, the poor white man, the sand-hiller, the clay-eater of the wasted fields of Carolina, impoverished, debased, dishonored by the system that makes toil a badge of disgrace, and the instruction of the brain and soul of man a crime, will lift his abashed forehead to the skies and begin to run the race of improvement, progress, an elevation. Then the nation, "regenerated and disenthralled by the genius of universal emancipation," will run the

career of development, power, and glory, quickened, animated, and guided by the spirit of the Christian democracy that "pulls not the highest down, but lifts the lowest up."

Our country is now floating on the stormy waves of civil war. Darkness lowers and tempests threaten. The waves are rising and foaming and breaking around us and over us with engulfing fury. But amid the thick gloom, the star of duty casts its clear radiance over the dark and troubled waters, making luminous our pathway. Our duty is as plain to the clear vision of intelligent patriotism as though it were written in letters of light on the bending arches of the skies. That duty is, with every conception of the brain, every throb of the heart, every aspiration of the soul, by thought, by word, and by deed to feel, to think, to speak, to act so as to obliterate the last vestiges of slavery in America, subjugate rebel slavemasters to the authority of the nation, hold up the weary arm of our struggling Government, crowd with heroic manhood the ranks of our armies that are bearing the destinies of the country on the points of their glittering bayonets, and thus forever blast the last hope of the rebel chiefs. Then the waning star of the rebellion will go down in eternal night, and the star of peace ascend the heavens, casting its mild radiance over fields now darkened by the storms of this fratricidal war. Then, when "the war drums throb no longer and the battle-flags are furled," our absent sons, with the laurels of victory on their brows, will come back to gladden our households and fill the vacant chairs around our hearthstones. Then the stars of united America, now obscured, will reappear, radiant with splendor on the forehead of the skies, to illumine the pathway and gladden the heart of struggling humanity.